

is in Tennessee, and we are here, we must proceed as is usual in such cases, by filing written interrogatories, as follows:

1. Are you aware that banishment, except as a punishment for crime, is itself a crime of the State against the weak?

2. Will you state the crime which the Blacks of your State have committed, which renders them deserving of banishment?

3. How much do you estimate the Government, or the Governor of your State to be worth, if he is incapable of protecting the weak against the cruelty and the injustice of the strong?

4. If Blacks and Whites cannot live together politically as equals, why, then, do you support that Government which has declared them to be equals before the law?

5. If Blacks and Whites cannot live together socially as equals, is it not true that Whites and Whites also cannot live together?

6. Why do you not, then, having established a standard, propose to banish all Whites who fall below it?

7. Are there not many people in your State who think the best public interest would be promoted by banishing you?

8. Did they not, in fact, banish you on a certain occasion?

9. How did you like it?

10. Can you, while preserving your self-respect and consistency, live upon terms of political and social equality with many thousands of Whites whom you see around you?

11. Do you propose to banish them, or to permit them to banish you?

12. Suppose a black man declines to emigrate according to your notion, what authority do you find in the Constitution for compelling him to go?

13. If you cannot compel him to go, then, morally, what right have you to compel him morally by partial and one-sided laws?

14. What surety can you offer that those who would treat the poor black laborers badly, would not treat poor white laborers in the same way?

15. Do you consider it Christian to single out poor but honest white men and women into a trap?

16. The material interest of the State considered, is it probable that raw hands will perform your labor as skillfully and as profitably as those which are accustomed to it?

17. How happens it that every blood-stained oppressor who has been thirsting for your life, has been sent to your prison and drink your health in bad whiskey for making it?

18. Do you believe it to be your duty to do unto others as you would have them do unto you?

19. Judging from your own experience, is it probable the strong and the weak cannot live together, is it probable the fault of the strong or the weak?

20. How would you like it if those who do not feel for you the highest personal admiration should insist upon packing you off, with Mrs. B. and all the little B.s, to make a home in the howling wilderness, and preach the gospel to the wild beasts and birds?

O, Browlow! Browlow! You have read your Bible a good deal—read it a little more! You have prayed often and long for others—why not pray a little for yourself? Browlow, you can step down!

—N. Y. Tribune.

CONNECTICUT AND THE SUFFRAGE.

Connecticut has struck the friends of equal suffrage a staggering blow. At a time when it is more than ever necessary that New England should stand up firmly in support of those great ideas of which she has been the pioneer and the foremost champion, one of her States proves recreant, and goes over to the enemy. The defection is a serious one, and may have unfortunate results. The copperheads are screaming with delight over it; they see in it a symptom favorable to the resuscitation of the influence and power of that class of men in the State, whose lives they formerly were, and in whose service they hope again to be restored to the places they once were permitted to fill. Those who were lately rebels halt it with satisfaction. Their only obstacle to resuming sway in the South is the danger of the ballot being placed in the hands of the colored man; and when New England demands this, they can cast in their teeth that one of her States refuses to do what she requires of them. Ignorance, prejudice and disloyalty are combined in rejoicing over this latest triumph of the spirit with which the nation has lately warred, and take new heart from the evidence it gives of only partial conviction in what should be the chief seat of enlightenment.

There are methods of explaining the result which may give it a little better aspect. Connecticut has been a doubtful State for years; the Republicans have held her for her allegiance only by untiring effort. The foreign population in many of her cities and manufacturing villages is large; the colored man is a special one, and our friends are proverbially neglectful of such occasions; we have timid and half-hearted leaders in the State. Above all, the position of the Administration at Washington was at the best doubtful, and while the Democrats were loudly claiming the President as opposed to negro suffrage, he sent word of comfort to those who fought the battle in his favor, which would enable them to repel the imputation. It was really a fight against odds, and the odds have been too much for us. All this may be true; yet explanation will not essentially impair the force of our defeat. We must acknowledge it, submit to it, renew the battle in spite of it.

We saw the battle, for it is of much greater importance now than ever that the battle should be won. There are those who have hoped that the Southern States themselves would, when reorganized, give the negro equality in the suffrage. That hope can be regarded as a delusion. What Connecticut has failed to do, cannot be expected of South Carolina and Georgia. If there was any faint reason to look for it before Connecticut voted, it now passes out of the realm of possibility. If copperheadism can accomplish so much in one locality, what may it not accomplish in the rest of the country? The case is closed against those of Southern justice or magnanimity, from this day out. We can secure the black man in his rights only by compelling their recognition in that quarter.

There is an imperative necessity that this be done. The responsibility now clearly rests upon the loyal North as represented in Congress, and it cannot be transferred or evaded. The national honor and the national safety alike require that the ballot be given to the black man. There is but one power now that can be relied upon for this purpose. That power is Congress.

Our honor requires it. The country was in danger; we called upon the black men to aid in saving it. We enlisted two hundred thousand of these under the national banner, and put arms into their hands to fight the nation's enemies. They shed their blood freely upon the battle-field. In the face of injustice, approbrium and abuse, they vindicated not only the nation, but their patriotism as well. They have nobly earned the right to citizenship. If life risked and blood shed for country does not confer it, we ask, in the name of all that is just and righteous, what does? A Republic that refuses to grant it under such circumstances is indelibly disgraced in the eyes of all high-minded men the world over.

But the case is much stronger than this. When we deny the negro the ballot, we deny him personal safety and protection. The meanest people that ever lived have not refused protection to their allies when they lay in their power to grant it. We are asked to turn the negro over naked to his enemies. We are to give him absolutely into the hands of the rebel leaders. The States are to return to the Union with all power in their control—none in his own. This is the plan on which States are reconstructed at the South to-day. The negro has just such rights as those who were lately rebels see fit to grant him—no others; and not one of them has given him rights which do not place him practically at rebel disposal. Yet the negro has been our ally—the rebel has been our implacable foe. The negro saw the existence of the nation imperilled through armed treason, and he risked his life for its salvation. He was largely instrumental in the work of shielding it from the deadly blows of rebellion. The rebels, who only despised him before, hate him now for the agency he had in thwarting their purposes. They are thirsting for revenge; and we are asked to be guilty of the unprecedented wickedness and ingratitude of giving up our most faithful ally to the tender mercies of an enemy who is chiefly embittered toward him for the service he has done. If we do this thing, our honor is irreparably sacrificed.

Let us be warned in time. The path of honor, and the path of safety are identical. We cannot fail to walk in it without the most stupendous hazards. Neither can we afford risks, or the trusting to chances. We are encountering a danger scarcely

second to that which made the war, and from which only the firmness of the approaching Congress can relieve us. Let this body be determined in fixing loyalty and intelligence as the only basis of suffrage in the South, and we are saved for the present, at least.—*Roxbury Journal.*

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1865.

IMPORTANT RATIFICATION.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON SATISFIED WITH THE MISSISSIPPI CONSTITUTION—LETTERS FROM GOVERNOR SHARKEY, SECRETARY SEWARD, GOVERNOR ANDREW, AND WILLIAM L. GARRISON.

There used to be, once upon a time, says the Louisville Democrat, a Latin king called Muma, who consulted a wise nymph about suitable laws or measures. What a delight it would be to those grumblers to know that this event is repeated in our history, the only difference being, that to prevent scandal, instead of a nymph, an original bearded Abolitionist is substituted. This is the actual fact. Recently, Mr. Seward forwarded to Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, a copy of the Mississippi Constitution for his approval. The latter turned it over to William Lloyd Garrison for his opinion, and the latter replied with extraordinary liberality. We give the correspondence entire.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, JACKSON, MISS., Aug. 28.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WM. L. SHARKEY, Provisional Governor of the State of Mississippi, Jackson:—

SIR,—I have the honor to lay before you a copy of the Constitution of Mississippi, as amended, together with copies of the several ordinances adopted, which I hope will be satisfactory.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
W. L. SHARKEY,
Provisional Governor of Mississippi.

To which the Secretary of State replied:—

To His Excellency, WM. L. SHARKEY, Provisional Governor of the State of Mississippi, Jackson:—

SIR,—Your letter of the 28th ult., accompanied by a copy of the amended Constitution of Mississippi, as adopted by the recent Convention of the State, has been received, and will engage the early attention of the President.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient servant,
W. H. SEWARD.

LETTER OF MR. SEWARD TO GOV. ANDREW.

STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, Sept. 4.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of the State of Massachusetts:

SIR,—I have the honor to enclose the within Constitution of Mississippi, and beg to know if it is satisfactory to your State, which is the only "anti-slavery" State when the Union was formed, has of course the right to decide on the new Constitution which the wisdom, virtue and valor of your State have forced the less enlightened State of Mississippi to accept.

With great respect,
W. H. SEWARD,
GOVERNOR ANDREW'S REPLY.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, BOSTON, MASS., September 6.

WM. L. GARRISON, Esq.:—

SIR,—As you started the grand "anti-slavery enterprise" thirty years ago, and even more than John Brown or Abraham Lincoln is its prophet and embodiment, and as the Secretary of State is waiting to refer to the Governor of Mississippi in regard to the new Constitution of that State, I beg you will examine the enclosed, and reject or ratify it at your earliest convenience.

Yours, etc.,
JOHN A. ANDREW,
Governor of Massachusetts.

MR. GARRISON'S REPLY.

BOSTON, Sept. 7.

His Excellency, Governor JOHN A. ANDREW:—

SIR,—I have carefully examined the within Constitution of Mississippi, and though it does not fully embody my "ideas," it is best, perhaps, not to "crowd the mourners" just now, and therefore I consent to ratify it, with the confident assurance that the "Freedom's Bureau" will prepare the negroes for emancipation or extermination, and thus close up the great work forever.

Yours, etc.,
WILLIAM L. GARRISON.

Surely, the readers of the Liberator will require no assurance from us that the above-recorded correspondence is a bold and an audacious forgery; but, inasmuch as it is getting extensive publication in the newspapers, without note or comment, as though it were authentic, and therefore multitudes of thoughtless people may regard it as genuine, we are obliged to brand it as fictitious, utterly ridiculous as the whole affair is.

AMERICAN FREEDMEN'S AID COMMISSION

Hitherto, the efforts made for the education of the Freedmen of the South having been of an isolated character, though zealously prosecuted and with encouraging success, it has been deemed not only expedient but important, by the principal Freedmen's Associations, East and West, that there should be greater concentration of action among them, as well as unity of spirit and purpose; consequently, on the 19th of Sept. 1865, by their authorized representatives met in the city of New York, they proceeded to organize an AMERICAN FREEDMEN'S AID COMMISSION, making themselves auxiliary thereto—its object, as defined in the second article of its Constitution, being "to promote the education and elevation of the Freedmen, and to cooperate to this end with the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands"—and comprising an Eastern and a Western Department, "each to be independent of the other so far as the collection of money and goods, and the selection, supervision and payment of Teachers and Agents may be concerned." This great beneficent movement, therefore, has now a recognized responsible head, such as its magnitude demands, and such as it is believed will add dignity and efficiency to the task of giving light to the blind, and lifting up from the dust a race so long "peeled, meted out, and trodden under foot."

On Wednesday, October 11th, the Commission held its first regular meeting at the Freedmen's Rooms, 424 Wall street, Philadelphia, at which were present members from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, &c. Bishop Simpson, of the M. E. Church, President of the Commission, was in the chair. The proceedings were of an interesting character; the resolutions adopted such as the state of the country demands; and the views expressed by those present as to the course to be pursued for the furtherance of the Freedmen's cause at the South entirely harmonious. The immediate formation of State Societies, both North and South, auxiliary to the Commission, was recommended as of urgent importance, and a plan adopted to carry the recommendation into effect.

In the evening, a splendid assembly of four thousand persons (admitted by ticket) filled the Academy of Music, many persons being unable to obtain entrance who strongly desired to do so, for the purpose of inaugurating the movement on the basis and plan of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. The scene was in the highest degree inspiring—the leading influences of Church and State being represented on the occasion.

The venerable Bishop McViney, of Ohio, (of the Protestant Episcopal Church), presided, and made the opening address—rejoicing that the bonds of the slave had been broken, even if through a Red Sea of suffering and blood. As God had visited us for tolerating the slave system, by the terrible war of the last four years, so will He abundantly bless the land if we now take care of the freedmen, and raise them up to be good citizens of the Republic.

He was followed by Bishop Simpson, in a short but effective speech. Regarding the scope of the present work, he said that six hundred and fifty teachers were working in different parts of the South, not only teaching them to read and write, but to learn the practical arts of life. The expense of each teacher is five hundred dollars a year, but to do the work truly and properly there should be at least two thousand teachers, and for these we must raise funds.

Addresses were also made by Rev. Dr. Bellows, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and William Lloyd Garrison—all being warmly applauded. A fuller report will be given in our next number.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TO THE COLORED TROOPS.

On Tuesday, the 10th instant, the First District of Columbia Colored Regiment marched from their quarters in Washington City to the Executive mansion, where the President made them an address, which will be found in another column.

At the opening of this speech, addressed to black soldiers who have fought bravely and effectively to rescue the government and the country from the slaveholders' rebellion, President Johnson informed them that he had little to say, and that his object was merely to thank them for the compliment they had offered him. He made, nevertheless, a speech of considerable length and much repetition, referring chiefly to the future civil status of the colored people, and containing sufficient indications of how much he is not disposed to do for their interests and rights. It is, in fact, an important speech, throwing great light upon the relation which friends of the colored people, and friends of freedom and justice, must henceforth bear to President Johnson and his policy.

We shall be better prepared to comment upon what Mr. Johnson did say, if we spend a moment in considering what a President of the United States should say to such men, both on their own account, and as the representatives of four-and-a-half millions of the population of the country. To such men, under such extraordinary and momentous circumstances, the President should speak with the voice of the nation. What ought the nation to say to them?

The nation owes to the colored people a long standing debt of justice, and also a recent and weighty debt of gratitude; and what the nation says and does to them in regard to the future should bear special relation to both these points, especially now that we are commencing a period of transition.

We are strong, they are weak. We are the majority, they the minority. We are the party from whom the offer of justice is due, and also the offer of gratitude. On all these accounts, it is our part to take the initiative. They must necessarily follow our lead.

We should volunteer some course of policy in regard to them which shall be consistent with justice, gratitude and self-respect, and in which they can cooperate without feeling insulted or degraded; and when the Chief of the nation addresses them or their representatives, they have a right to look for (at least) an expression of feeling in this direction.

It has often been declared by abolitionists, in the Liberator and elsewhere, that when President Lincoln found himself obliged "by military necessity" to interfere with slavery, and (both by this act and by receiving colored soldiers into the army) to take, in behalf of the nation, a new position towards the colored people, he should have issued a public address or proclamation to them, stating with many candor what the new position implied, calling upon them to fulfill its duties, and pledging himself and (as far as might be) the nation to such a relation to them in the future as justice and gratitude might require.

President Lincoln did not choose to take this course. Different suppositions may be made respecting the reasons that actuated him, but there are strong grounds for thinking that he was unduly inclined to favor the people of Kentucky and their system, and too little mindful of right and duty in relation to the negro race. The duty which he left unfulfilled falls now to his successor. It has been, up to this time, neglected by President Johnson, and the colored people of the nation remain in agonizing uncertainty, not knowing how to go forward, because not knowing how far sympathy or even toleration will be extended to them in the occupancy of any new position.

Under these circumstances, they must wait with intense anxiety for any incidental circumstance which may reveal how the head of the nation stands affected towards them.

When we further remember respecting the present head of the nation the following facts, namely,—that after his election as Vice President, he made an address really showing sympathy and friendship for the colored people in his vicinity, declaring his belief that God would raise up a Moses to lead them, and even promising (moved by their pathetic appeals) that, in the absence of a fitter person, he would be their Moses—that his accession to the Presidency was marked by this emphatic public declaration respecting the pro-slavery rebels, the worst enemies of the colored people, "Treason is the greatest of crimes, and under my administration it shall be punished as such"—and that lastly, since he has held the Presidential office, he has shown himself more and more favorable to the unrepentant rebels, and less and less inclined to vindicate the rights of the colored people—we may realize in some imperfect measure the anxiety which the soldiers of the First District of Columbia Colored Regiment must have listened to his words last week.

The first characteristic of the Address is its coldness. There is no warmth of sympathy, no hearty expression of friendliness, no recognition of any debt owed by the country of justice to black men, or of gratitude to black soldiers. At first he has nothing to say, except formally to return thanks for the compliment offered him.

Having begun, however, President Johnson finds that there is more to be said, and proceeds in a strain of which it is difficult to decide whether its indelicacy, untruthfulness or injustice is the greatest.

The indelicacy of this address to a class of people who have just conferred a great benefit upon the nation and its head is extreme, amounting in fact to insolence, though there is no reason to suppose that the latter was intended. In throwing official cold water on the regiment at this time, the President probably intended merely to foreshadow his predetermined future policy. He reminds them that "it is unusual in this Government and in most other Governments to have colored troops engaged in their service"—utterly ignoring the disgrace which this fact reflects upon the American people and their rulers. He tells these soldiers—just returned from a public duty which they have discharged creditably and honorably, but still uncertain, through the culpable silence of the Administration, whether they will be allowed to take the position of citizens, of landholders, of voters, of witnesses in courts of justice, of men equal with others before the law—that they should prepare themselves for what is before them! That "every man should be calm and tranquil, and be prepared for what is before him!" Is their present uncertainty suited to produce calmness and tranquility?

The President proceeds at length, and with many repetitions, to warn the colored people against "idleness"; to assume that dissipation from idleness is particularly needed by those whose industry has supported the whole Southern population up to this time. No one knows better than Andrew Johnson that the besetting sin of the Southern white people is laziness, and that the blacks have been compelled to support them in it. He makes this proclamation to the wrong party. Nothing could be more impertinent, in both senses. So also with the suggestion of the importance of a faithful fulfillment of conjugal duties. Who made the laws and customs which forbid marriage to the slave, and held his sister, and wife, and daughter, under a system of enforced concubinage? Moral lessons on these subjects are far more needed by the class to which the President himself belongs; and when a white man wishes to give such lessons to the blacks, he should first acknowledge the sin of his own race, and show himself in favor of actively curbing their iniquities.

But the indelicacy of this speech reaches its height when it suggests to these soldiers, who have just helped the country gain its victory, that it may become necessary to separate them and their people from the white inhabitants of the country, to suit the whims and unjust prejudices of the latter. True, the speaker had just said, "This is your country as well as everybody else's country." But this gives small comfort when he proceeds to discuss elaborately the question whether the "experiment" of keeping them co-habitants of the land with us will succeed, and to intimate that des-

tiny may require their removal. If they can be "calm and tranquil" with all these doubts before them, they must be more (or less) than human.

But the President's speech disregards truth as much as delicacy. He has the hardihood to tell these people, who (some as slaves and some as free blacks) have all their lives been subject to injustice framed into law, that "this country is founded upon the principles of equality." A more flagrant untruth could not have been told. All that we have accomplished thus far is an unsuccessful attempt, by the minority, to have the government administered upon principles of equality. And now that a rare opportunity has arisen to facilitate the introduction of real equality into our laws and customs, neither the government nor the people are ready to embrace it.

Injustice also stands out with great prominence as one of the characteristics of this speech. Everywhere it requires movement, action, an initiative, from the colored people, regardless of the fact that they must wait to see what will be allowed them by the powerful and prejudiced majority. Every movement of theirs towards making provision for their permanent security and welfare, every attempt to undertake occupations more remunerative and more "respectable" than cooking, shaving and boot-blackening, every assumption by them of the rights and privileges that white custom has made a point of restricting to white men, will always call forth a howl of displeasure and an attitude of resistance from certain members of our daily press and certain portions of our population. Until the Constitutions and laws of the reconstructed States (and of the District of Columbia) shall erect some barrier against the old usages of the slave-period, and provide some security for the colored man's possession and use of the rights of man, he must remain comparatively passive. The grade of Christianity and civilization is so low among the white people of the United States in relation to this subject, that the blacks cannot move a step in advance of the old caste distinction until permitted, without bringing trouble and danger upon their own heads.

Regardless of all this, serenely ignoring all the disabilities which he, the Southern white man, has all his life been helping to impose on the condition of the negro, (and the continuance of which is strongly favored by his government), President Johnson coolly tells the representatives of that race that they must do something by their example in civil life as they have done in the field; that they must give evidence to the world of capability and competence to govern themselves; that it is for them to establish the great fact that they are fit and qualified to be free; that they must give evidence that they are competent for the rights that the Government has guaranteed to them (as if it had yet guaranteed half the rights that belong to them); that henceforth each and all of them must be measured according to their own merit, the development of their own talents, their own intellectual and moral qualities; and, finally, that they should proceed to develop their intellect, and apply their physical powers to the industrial interests of the country. With what Shakespeare would call "damnable iteration," and with what the candid observer must call shameful injustice, the President uses every one of these forms of expression to urge this unfortunate people to do what his own administrative policy prevents them from doing.

Just before making this speech, President Johnson had released Alexander H. Stephens from his well-deserved (but far too indulgent) place of confinement, for the express purpose of enabling him to take the lead in a new arrangement of the laws and customs of Georgia. The reason alleged in justification of this act is that Stephens has influence with the old secessionist slaveholders, and that he will be able to persuade them, now that technical slavery is hopelessly wrenched from his grasp and theirs, to consent to its extinction. No doubt he can and will do this. But is there the slightest reason to suppose that Mr. Stephens and his rebel friends are willing to concede to the negroes the rights of man, as defined by the Declaration of Independence? Consenting to give up slavery and to return to the Union, they are to have their own way in everything else. This is the President's bargain with them. He gives them power, while he gives the colored people only talk. While he is giving his impertinent and insulting advice to the colored people, he was empowering Stephens to prevent them from developing their minds and characters by such education and enterprise as are open to white people, as far as Georgia is concerned. Every movement which they would naturally make in an attempt to follow the President's advice will now be blocked and defeated in Georgia by the controlling influence which the President's policy has given to Stephens.

Following the President's counsel to improve their minds, develop their intellect, prove themselves capable of self-government, and apply their mental and bodily powers to the industrial interests of the country, the colored people claim the right of education, the right of choosing their own occupation and trying their chances in it without obstruction, the right of standing equal before the law with Stephens himself, and of having their remedy at law against the attempted tyranny of any of Stephens' rebel friends. The moment they attempt to do any one of these things, Stephens will be "down upon them." He will prevent them, he will control them, he will hem them on every side, he will effectually prove to them that, though no longer slaves, they are still "niggers," and the institutions of reconstructed Georgia are now likely to be moulded upon this pattern, under opportunities furnished by President Johnson.

But this is only one specimen. Everywhere appear indications of the same course of policy on the part of Andrew Johnson. Immediately following the report of his speech in the paper from which I have copied the above expressions, are these items of news, namely:—

"The President granted amnesty pardons, to-day, to 175 persons, residents of North Carolina. It is said that the President has directed the withdrawal of colored troops from Kentucky and the suspension of martial law in the State."

Every one of these 175 pardoned rebels, now let loose to mould the future of North Carolina, wishes and will try to keep the negro still a "nigger." The withdrawal of colored troops from Kentucky (including loyal blacks to gratify disloyal whites) will increase the opportunity to perpetrate the cruel dissensions heretofore in vogue between negroes and white men. The same state of things is going on through the whole South, and going on with the favor, and counsel, and active effort of the President. While he gives cold courtesies of speech to those colored people to whom circumstances oblige him to speak, he is acting effectively to engraft upon our reconstructed States the worst of the incidental results of slavery. Should such a man be any longer trusted or supported by the friends of equal rights? In my judgment, President Johnson has proved himself unworthy of the confidence and support that have been given him.—C. K. W.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The eighth course of the series of Lectures established by the Parker Fraternity was commenced on Tuesday evening last, at the Music Hall. Those parts of the spacious hall not reserved were taken at an early hour, and before the lecturer arrived, the platform and the balconies, as well as the body of the house, were densely filled. Mrs. Frohock, during the half hour preceding the lecture, gave a very acceptable performance on the Great Organ.

The lecture, by Wendell Phillips, was entitled "The South Victorious." His idea was, that though the rebel slaveholders have been defeated in the battle-field, the policy which they are now pursuing, coupled with the excessive indulgence shown them by the Administration, most seriously endangers the nation's welfare. Their policy consists in urging two points, namely—their theory of "State Sovereignty," and their theory that black men cannot live with white men as equals.

Mr. Phillips reviewed the language and conduct of the President to three parties, the messengers whom he despatched to the South to make reports of its condition, leading them to suppose that his policy was yet unsettled, and would be decided by the facts found to exist there—the ex-rebels sent to him as envoys by the ex-rebel States—and the colored soldiers, just returned from those victories which saved the Union. The address, by the President, to the First Colored Regiment of the District of Columbia, was analyzed and commented on in a strain serious and even solemn, but of terrible severity.

The lecture also contained severe comments upon the leaders, and organs, and members of the Republican party. The combination bearing that name, it said, is only an echo of the President. There is really no political force in existence worthy the name of the Republican party.

The Administration seems now about to do an act not merely impolitic, but infamous. We can trust neither Congress, nor Andrew Johnson, nor the Republican party. The only hope remaining is in the People. And their duty is to rise, not merely to protest against this act, but to prevent it.

The second lecture, next Tuesday evening, will be given by Frederick Douglass, on "The Assassination and its Results." A few tickets yet remain in the hands of the Committee.—C. K. W.

try of "State Sovereignty," and their theory that black men cannot live with white men as equals.

Mr. Phillips had no fear for the ultimate future of the nation; justice and right, in time, will prevail. But he seriously feared that the perniciety of the rebel leaders, aided as they are by Executive favor and by the partnership of the Northern Democracy, (so called), will carry the two points above named, make a new contract for the maintenance of liberty essential, and indefinitely postpone the peace and welfare of the country. The Southern States are now passing under the control of the same men, cherishing the same feelings, and holding the same theories, as before the war.

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MR. DICKINSON'S LECTURE. The lecture season commenced last week at Tremont Temple, by a lecture from Miss Anna E. Dickinson, under the auspices of the Old Bay State Division. There was a large audience. She entitled her lecture "Flood-tide," taking the idea from Shakespeare's lines—

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune";

applying the thought to the condition of our country at the present time. The country was in condition to push on to prosperity, but there were those who were tired of effort, and while we hesitated the tide was ebbing away. We must put at the mast-head "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," and go forth a beacon to the world. The people wanted a leader—a man who could shut his teeth close and go on through, without wrinkling his forehead. The Democratic party were opposed to giving suffrage to the negro, and the Republican party would make no issue on that question. Looking candidly at both parties, she could only ask, as the boy did at the menagerie, "Which is the man, and which is the monkey?" There was no other question at issue now but negro suffrage. Slavery would live so long as the negro was without a vote. If the President had a right to disfranchise one portion of the community, he had the right to enfranchise another portion. He was a loose interpreter of the law when an ex-rebel was to be benefited by it, and a careful interpreter when an ex-slave had anything to gain. She said she was not waging war with the President. It could not be expected that a Tennessee tailor would take any position beyond what the radicals of Massachusetts demanded of him. She severely criticised his address to a negro regiment of the District of Columbia, and thought the advice as to decency and chastity and obedience to the law would be more appropriate spoken to some of his visitors from the South.

THE POOR AT RICHMOND.

DEAR MR. GARRISON.—The writer of the following letter was a slave on a James river plantation in Virginia until 1848, when, obtaining his freedom, he came, with a company of others, to Boston, where he has since resided until within this year, and where he is known to many as a man of excellent character, self-respecting and respected by others. While a slave, he was also a preacher among his people, and since he became free, he has exercised somewhat his gifts in that respect, and has been laboring in that capacity in Richmond, from the time of the capture of that city. He has just entered into an engagement with a very large (colored) Baptist congregation there, to serve them as their minister for a year. He writes to me as follows:—

RICHMOND, (VA.) Oct. 12, 1865.

DEAR SIR—I have taken my pen to-day to let you know how we are getting along here. I am still in the same old place, and the colored people are still in the same old place, and the colored people are still in the same old place. The people of the North do not know what the people of color suffer here. Those who are at work scarcely get enough to keep body and soul together, while the old slaveholders make them pay high for the houses they live in. It seems to me impossible for the poor here to live through the coming winter, except something is done for them. I wish

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The eighth annual course of these favorite and eminently popular lectures will be continued in Music Hall on **TUESDAY EVENINGS**, at 7-1-2 o'clock, by the following distinguished ones—

Oct. 24—**FREDERICK DOUGLASS**, of Rochester.
 Nov. 7—**HENRY WARD BEECHER**, of Newburgh.
 Nov. 7—**JACOB M. MARSH**, of Boston.
 14—**ANNA R. DICKINSON**, of Philadelphia.
 Dec. 12—**GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS**, of New York.
 19—**DAVID A. WARREN**, of Boston.
 26—(To be announced).
 Jan. 2—**GEORGE H. HERWORTH**, of Boston.
 9—**THEODORE TILTON**, of New York.
 16—(To be announced).

Come to the Great Organ each evening at 7 o'clock.
 Mr. FRODOCK, Organist.

Tickets admitting "The Deaver and Lady" to the course, \$2. Tickets admitting "One Person" to the course, \$2. For sale at **OLIVER DITSON & CO.'S**, 277 Washington street; **JOHN C. HAYNES & CO.'S**, 333 Court street; **JOHN S. ROGERS**, 1077 Washington street; **Anti-Slavery Office**, 221 Washington street, and by the Lecture Committee.

Cheeks for seats reserved until 7-1-2 o'clock, at one dollar each for the course, for sale only at **DITSON & CO'S**, and at **J. S. ROGERS**.

N. B. Only a portion of the seats in the body of the house (those to the right of the speaker) will be reserved, leaving a large number of seats in the upper box and balcony to the other ticket-holders.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak on "Pecan," in Feltoutville, Monday evening, Oct. 23, and in Marlboro', Tuesday evening, Oct. 24.

ANNUAL MEETING.—The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Horticultural Hall, West Chester, Oct. 27th, day and evening.

JAMES MOTT, President.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Co. Sec.

MARRIED.—In this city, 34 inst, by Rev. A. L. Grimes, Mr. JOHN H. GLOUCESTER, formerly of Philadelphia, to Miss CHRISTIANA SWEETSER, of Boston.

Anglo-Saxon, please copy.

DIED.—In this city, on the 11th inst, Mr. URIAH RICHIE, aged 66—one of the earliest and most uncompromising friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in Boston—a most industrious, enterprising and esteemed citizen—an independent and conscientious thinker—and that "noblest work of God, an honest man."

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, JR.,
 WOOL COMMISSION MERCHANT,
 No. 6 Channing Street, Boston.

WITH every facility for selling Wool to the best advantage,—a good store, situated in the centre of the Boston trade, and an extensive acquaintance with manufacturers,—we are enabled to execute all commissions. No market offers greater inducements to the Wool Grower than this. It is the headquarters for New-England manufacturers, and here they receive the wool, and send it to the market. It is the best place to buy, and the best place to sell. My terms for selling are as follows:

WHEN ADVANCES ARE NOT REQUIRED,
 One per cent. per pound, and one per cent. (and government) on the Gross Order (gross) on sales.

WHEN ADVANCES ARE REQUIRED,
 Five per cent. (and government tax) on sales. These charges cover all expenses after the Wool is received in store, for three months,—labor, storage, insurance and selling. Required to carry it over three months, additional expenses will be charged. Interest on advances and other disbursements reckoned at the legal rate of this State.

I shall aim to keep my consignors thoroughly informed; and my Agents will be ready to call on them, and to suit the market. Letters, asking information, will be promptly answered. Address P. O. Box 1861.

References:
 Messrs. HOLLOWELL CORBURN, Boston.
 Messrs. FARRIS & FARRIS, New York.
 Messrs. DAVIS, FISS & BAYES, Philadelphia.
 Boston, August, 1865.

Ayer's Pills.

ARE you sick, feeble and complaining? Are you out of order with your system? Do you feel the effects of various ailments? These symptoms are often the prelude to various diseases. Some fit of sickness is creeping upon you, and should be averted by a timely use of the right remedy. Take Ayer's Pills and cleanse out the disordered humor—purify the blood, and let the fluids move on unobstructed in health again. They stimulate the functions of the body into vigorous action, and clear out the system from the obstructions which make disease. A cold settles somewhere in the body, and deranges its natural functions. These, if not relieved, react upon themselves and the surrounding organs, and produce various ailments, suffering and derangement. While in this condition, take Ayer's Pills, and see how directly they restore the natural action of the system, and give you the pleasant feeling of health again. What is true and so apparent in this trial and common complaint is also true in many of the deep-seated and dangerous disorders. The same purgative effect extends to the bowels, and cleanses out the system from the obstructions of the natural functions of the body, they are rapidly, and many of them surely cured by the same means. Constipation, indigestion, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Worms and Suppression, when taken in large doses. They are sugar-coated, so that the most sensitive can take them easily, and they are surely the best purgative medicine yet discovered.

AYER'S AGUE CURE,
 For the speedy and certain Cure of Intermitting Fever, or Chills and Fever, Remittent Fever, Chill Fever, Dumb Ague, Periodical Fever, or Bilious Headache, and Bilious Fevers; in short, for the speedy and certain Cure of the quinine or malarial fever, or any of the diseases originating in bilious derangement, caused by the malarious or miasmatic countries.

This remedy has rarely failed to cure the severest cases of Chills and Fever, and it has this great advantage over other Ague medicines, that it subdues the complaint without injury to the patient. It contains no quinine or other deleterious substance, and it does not excite any injurious effect whatever. Shaking brothers of the army and the West, try it, and you will endorse these statements.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all druggists.
 Oct. 13. 2m.

NEW ENGLAND
FEMALE COLLEGE.

The Eighteenth Annual Term of seventeen weeks will commence on Monday, Nov. 1, 1865. For prospectus, send to Prof. M. D., Theory and Practice of Medicine; Frances S. Cooke, M. D., Anatomy, and of Physiology and Hygiene; Edward Aiken, M. D., Materia Medica, Therapeutics and Clinical Medicine; C. Meriam, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Albert B. Robinson, M. D., Principles and Practice of Surgery and Medical Jurisprudence; M. H. Byles, M. D., Obstetrics and Anatomy. Tuition free, to the six Professors and Demonstrators, \$25—free to students needing aid.

SAMUEL GREGORY, Secretary,
 39, Canton Street, Boston, Mass.

WEST NEWTON
ENGLISH AND CLASSICAL SCHOOL.

THE next term begins Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1865. For particulars, address NATH'L T. ALLEN.
 Sept 1

**IMPROVEMENT
 IN Champroing and Hair Dyeing**
 "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER
 WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to
 No. 31 WINNER STREET,
 where she attends all diseases of the Hair.

It is her sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair, and restoring the color when it has fallen out, or been made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champroos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair, and using her Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color, and for curing the itching scalp. She speaks her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last for three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like her.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
 No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

